

**THE
Industrial Union Bulletin
PUBLISHED BY THE
Industrial Workers of the World**

Published Weekly at
310 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

Yearly Subscription 50 Cents
Six Months 25 Cents
In Bundles (per 100) One Dollar



Application made at Chicago Post Office for
entry as Second Class Letter.

Chicago, March 16, 1907.

WHY THEY WANT HAYWOOD

From time to time during the past year, while the officers of the Western Federation of Miners have been incarcerated in an Idaho jail awaiting and demanding trial for a crime they never committed, the declaration has never made that whatever the outcome of the kidnaping might be, Haywood must go to the gallows. On the other hand, it has been made clear that the mine owning gang of conspirators were not much concerned about Moyer or Pettibone, but it was of the highest importance that they succeed in "getting" Wm. D. Haywood. There is not the slightest doubt that McParland was speaking for the Mine Owners' Association, when, after the jury disagreed in the Steve Adams case, he said: "Well, now we will go after Haywood, and I will see that he goes to the gallows; we don't care for the two others, but Haywood is too dangerous an agitator, he must be done away with."

Why is it they are so anxious to "get" Haywood? The reason is obvious. It was Haywood who systematically worked for what might be called the "higher education" in economics within the ranks of the Western Federation. It was Haywood among all the officers of that organization who first grasped the philosophy of Socialism and through him that the revolt against the capitalist system as a whole was largely augmented. He has never been the advocate of conspiracies or the methods of intrigue common to those who, whether in the labor movement or out of it, seek to accomplish their purposes behind a closed door and in the dark. Always an advocate of education, he has ever been opposed to secrecy and a consistent supporter of open meetings. Conspirators work in the dark; Haywood worked in the light. So strong was he in a profound consciousness of the justice of his cause, and as entirely dependent upon the power of thought and an educational propaganda for its triumph, that he came to be marked as the one distinctively "dangerous" man; the man whose activities and influence must be stopped. Capitalist interests are everywhere opposed to the enlightenment of the working class along lines that threaten to distract them. The other day at the Chicago University, Mallock, English spokesman for exploitation, declared education to be a bad thing for the workers, and he spoke for the class which seeks to crush the Western Federation and "get" Haywood. Haywood typifies the opposing element in labor's ranks which believes in education and more of it. He is "dangerous" only as an "agitator"—an educator.

In the open meeting, with all proceedings conducted without secrecy, where all that is done is an open book to whomever may care to know, there is little opportunity, or none at all, for the hired hessians of capitalist conspirators. Into the secret meeting, as was the case with the Molly Maguires, the designing and murderous spy penetrates and preys. Had the Western Federation been conducted as a dark-lantern secret assembly, instead of working in the open and in the light of day, the McParlands would have succeeded in their dastardly outrages against Haywood, St. John, Moyer and all the rest just as they did in Pennsylvania; but the open book and open meetings of the Western Federation will defeat them and the conspirators of Colorado and Idaho will not "get" Haywood.

AS TO THE JAPANESE

We have received from Oakland, Cal., a copy of "The Revolution," published by the Japanese of the Pacific Coast. It contains an article from a well known Japanese Socialist, Kichi Kaneko, and, among other things, the writer says:

"So far as I know, not a single Socialist paper in this country speaks out plainly for Japanese socialism (inclusion of the Japanese) without showing race prejudice. I am not a bit surprised to see that the capitalist press has written the most national and false news about Japanese all over the land, for they are captured by the capitalist class interest—the interest of dollars."

"It pity those who cannot think wholly. Partial thinking is the most dangerous thing in the world. Some of the agitators do not even realize that in all the time and call themselves scientific Socialists. What pity can I bestow upon them? That they should be so much interested in national and not scientific socialism. It is national socialism, but not international socialism."

"None of the Socialists here get themselves mixed up with trade unionists and do not realize what socialism really means. Socialism which is scientific and international must be revolutionized in character. It cannot be a compromising kind of socialism. The Socialists who are afraid of losing the sympathy of the masses and afraid to preach socialism, pure and genuine, could not be revolutionary Socialists at all. It is no wonder that I give to be able to gather an audience

the American Socialist movement, as shown by its last vote, cannot grow any faster."

The truth of much that Kaneko says is obvious; it is slowly penetrating the Socialist mind. There has beyond question been a growing disposition to disparage revolutionary Socialism, and as Kaneko says, or at least clearly intimates, a fear of "losing the sympathy" of pure and simple trade unionists. This, everybody knows, is true of the Social Democratic movement in Wisconsin, where concessions have been made to trade unionists to gain their support. And in Chicago present conditions are prophetic of a coming disaster from the same cause.

Industrial Unionists hold that the workman born in Japan is equally eligible to membership in this organization with the workman born in Italy or England. As a matter of fact, Japanese workmen already hold cards in the I. W. W. and more are coming. They are welcome. In a little while, as events are happening, we will have strong local unions of the I. W. W. in the principal industrial centers of Japan. Parliamentary bodies in this country, backed by trade unionists who are not unionists, and "internationalists" who are nationalists only, may succeed in excluding the Japs, as a joint resolution introduced by a "Social Democrat" in the Wisconsin legislature memorializes Congress to do, but it will be an act of the provincial and the narrow denial and repudiation of the very soul of International Socialism, the federation of the workers of the world for the overthrow of capitalism and the capitalist class wherever they are found.

WHAT CAN THE WORKERS DO?

A question often raised by enemies of the working class, and one that is intended to show the impracticability of working-class action, is this: "What can the working class do?" Our answer is: THE WORKING CLASS, PROPERLY ORGANIZED ON LINES OF INDUSTRIALISM, CAN DO EVERYTHING. The question ought to be revised so as to read: What is there that the working class cannot do?

A few hundred electrical workers in Paris recently demonstrated the power of the working class to do things. They set up the electric lighting plants, and the gay city was established, and much to the disgust of the fashionable idle class which always swarms there, thrown into complete darkness. In this condition all Parisians, including the government section, were given a practical demonstration of the capacity of the workers, and during one entire night the latter, who alone could say "Let there be light" had the brilliant throng of society guessing what they would do next. The "public" was alarmed at the ease with which a few hundred workmen were able to bring confusion and utter darkness into the nightly revelry.

If the workers can do such a thing, what then they may not do when they realize their power and are organized? That question agitates Europe. And the answer comes in one word: NOTHING! All things are possible to the workers through effective organization that makes them masters of their own tools and their tools. When the power is control and operate the mine and the shop, the mill and the factory, the railway and all distributing agencies, is in the hands of an educated and disciplined working class organization, there is no power left that can prevail against the working class. The duty, the mission of the workers is clear: Build up the organization, the industrial administration of your class, to take possession of all factors now used to enslave you.

TWO MEETINGS--A CONTRAST

Mallock and DeLeon spoke on the same day in Chicago.

Mallock, the "smasher" of socialism imported from England by Belmont Gomperz's Civic Federation, lectured at the University of Chicago, to a handful of well-groomed and well-fed people in the middle of the afternoon—entirely free.

DeLeon spoke under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World, late at night, in the Ghetto, to 400 to 500 tired wage-slaves who paid an admission fee to cover expenses and collection.

Mallock typifies capitalism on the defensive, trying to stem the rising tide of the revolution by gratuitous assertions that Socialists are dreamers and Utopians, and that Marxian economics, however realistic and plausible, are "false—all with due mock solemnity and contempt of authority."

DeLeon typifies the working-class on the offensive, or rather, in its constructive work. His audience did not come to listen to hair-fine economic distinctions. The workers have now come to a stage where they have accepted as settled forever the quintessence of Marxian economics, namely, that "Labor produces all wealth and that the Laborer is entitled to the full product of his toil." What DeLeon's audience wanted was to know how to go about getting this product of their toil, and he did not disappoint them. To come with anything else before a working class audience today means disaster to the lecturer.

While Mallock was lulling his fastidious audience into a reverie of fancied security, DeLeon and his audience, in pointed interchange of opinions, were seriously discussing the ways and means to put an end to Capitalism and the most practical method of establishing the industrial commonwealth of the near future, and seemed to reach the understanding that through industrial organization we would be able, in a few years, to "take and hold" the means of life.

And what are Mallock and his paymasters, the Civic Federation and the Standard Oil Co., going to do about it? It has gone so far that they can not even keep their own camp free from traitors. His lecture was mainly addressed to the "highly educated" who are being contaminated by the spirit of the Revolution. What could they not do?

The greatest "world power" ever known is that which begins to loom up on the horizon in the Industrial organization of the producers of wealth.

The Socialist who wants Socialism in our day is coming to see the practical side of Industrial Unionism. It opens up to him a new view and gives him fresh courage.

such as DeLeon spoke to. The workers of today will pay the expenses incidental to a discussion of how to establish the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, but, wealthy as the Standard Oil Co. is, it has not money enough to hire the workers to listen to Mallock—except for sport.

We are surely getting upon evil days.

The entire social and industrial problem is on the eve of a complete adjustment; a settlement of the vexed question is imminent. Be it known to all men: A Social Democratic member of the Wisconsin legislature has introduced a resolution in regard to postal savings banks. It says that the important thing (to accomplish the overthrow of capitalism?) is to "encourage frugality" on the part of the individual. It cites many instances where the postal savings bank has proven a "public advantage." It says that said banks "prevent poverty" by the development of "thrift." And there you are. Go back to your copy of Samuel Smiles, your revolutionary Socialists, and learn that all you have to do in order to PREVENT POVERTY is to become "frugal" and "thrifty!"

Industrial Unionists have been called the "confiscators of industry," because they propose to "take and hold" the tools and means of employment. And it fits us exactly. We make no pretense of gaining economic freedom by the middle class reform route, or passing resolutions against "coolie and Mongolian labor," or setting up a "postal savings bank," or making somebody an office holding attaché of a capitalist government. We are after a government of the working class and by the working class, and against every other class—a government that will take possession of the things that are essential to the working class.

The modern facilities of production are so abundant and affluent that work is no longer necessary. Four hours a day is not to be called work, compared with the conditions today; and statistics prove that if every able-bodied man put in four hours a day, 100 days in the year, at a cost to enjoy what now amounts to \$10,000 a year. Four hours a day will not be enough for peace—the workers own the tools and the jobs. As Daniel De Leon said, "Four hours a day will liberate the body and enslave the mind." Let us work for four hours a day and the tools.

It might be well for the workers to bear always in mind that they, as a class, have an equal right to organize and get ready to take possession of all they produce, with the present appropriators of wealth to burden future generations, as well as the present one, with evidences of their legal expropriation. We have more right to project freedom and economic equality than they to project into the future slavery and a continuance of economic barbarism. The future is ours, through organization and education.

We are assured by "joint resolution" to Congress, introduced by a Social Democrat in the Wisconsin legislature, that "the happiness and prosperity of the people depends upon the maintenance of peace, and that International War has resulted in mutual jealousies due in large degree to mutual misunderstandings;" also that all such international questions ought to be submitted to arbitration. All right, we move that all such questions hereafter arising be sent to the Civic Federation for adjustment.

No one need be staggered by the proposal of Industrialism to "take and hold" the means whereby we live—unless he wants to be. The plain truth of the matter is that they must be taken or they will never be held, and if not held by the workers they will never be operated by them.

When the power is control and operate the mine and the shop, the mill and the factory, the railway and all distributing agencies, is in the hands of an educated and disciplined working class organization, there is no power left that can prevail against the working class.

The duty, the mission of the workers is clear: Build up the organization, the industrial administration of your class, to take possession of all factors now used to enslave you.

Plain Answers

TO
Pertinent Questions

* * * Do not take up the editor's time with long articles; put your question in as few words as possible.

W. F. C.—There were treacherous undercurrents moving below the surface weeks, if not months, before the 17th of last September, and the situation was immensely as everyone now knows, long before it was realized. At the very outset, as the record shows, there was revealed evidence of an understanding arrived at to defeat the rank and file in the convention. And this was based on a delusion that the reactionists had votes enough to do it. Get the official report and read it carefully.

W. H. J.—It is an easy matter to make a mistake in reporting a referendum vote, as in anything else where a great mass of figures occur. A simple mistake, that does not materially affect the general result, may be readily corrected. But what can be said when a referendum, alleged to have been taken, is not reported at all? The "mistake" in such a case is apparent to a blind man. It is one that the parties claiming to have sent out the referendum discovered themselves—after the "votes" came in.

Being too shallow-pated to understand how the "proletarian rabble" and "bug-house bums" of the Industrial Workers of the World, can keep up an organization after getting rid of fellows like himself, A. F. Germer of Mt. Olive, Ill., saloon-keeper "Socialist," and delegate to the United Miners' recent convention at Springfield, is quite sure that we are supported by the Citizens' Alliance! It is really surprising how many idiots have been taken in by this front.

Come and Have a Good Time

The Paris Commune will be celebrated by Industrial Unionists tonight (March 16) at Westminster Hall, 462 N. Clark street, near Division street. There will be dancing, with music by Mrs. Gilbert's orchestra. Refreshments will be provided and everything done to make a pleasant evening for all who attend. Tickets 25 cents; wardrobe free.

**WORKING CLASS
ECONOMICS**

Conducted by James P. Thompson

Lesson I Continued

None but the "hired prize-fighters" of the capitalist class—who care nothing for the truth and only aim to keep the brains of the workers muddled and the slaves divided—would ever say that in the equation: one ton of coal equals one ounce of gold we equate some or all the natural properties of the two commodities. The statement is absurd on the face of it. True, they both have the common property of being products of labor; but even the product of labor itself has undergone a change in our hands." We see in them no longer a watch, a pair of shoes, a coat or any other useful thing, neither can they any longer be regarded as the product of the labor of the watchmaker, the shoemaker, the tailor or any other definite kind of productive labor; there is nothing left but what is common to them all; all are reduced to gold and the same sort of labor—human labor—in the abstract. Let us now consider the residue of each of these products.]

Q. Does it consist of the same un-substantial reality in each?

A. "Yes."

Q. Of a mere conglomeration of homogeneous human labor, of labor-power expended without regard to the mode of its expenditure?

A. "Yes."

Q. All that these things now tell us is what?

A. "Yes."

Q. One sort of wares are as good as another, if the values be equal?

A. "Yes."

Q. There is no difference or distinction in things of equal value?

A. "No."

Q. Is a hundred dollars' worth of lead or iron of as great value as a hundred dollars' worth of silver or gold?

A. "Certainly."

Q. As use-values commodities are above all—what?

A. "Of different qualities."

Q. As exchange values they are merely—what?

A. "Of different quantities."

Q. If we leave out of consideration the use-value of commodities, they have only one common property left—what is that common property?

A. "That of being products of human labor."

Q. If we make abstraction from the use-value of a product do we make abstraction at the same time from the material elements and shapes that make it?

A. "It is put out of sight."

Q. Can it any longer be regarded as the product of the labor of the joiner, the mason, the spinner, or of any other definite kind of productive labor?

A. "No."

Q. Do we see it any longer as a table, a house, a chair, or any other useful thing?

A. "No."

Q. What becomes of its existence as a material thing?

A. "It is put out of sight."

Q. Can it any longer be regarded as the product of the labor of the joiner, the mason, the spinner, or of any other definite kind of productive labor?

A. "No."

Q. Along with the useful qualities of the products themselves, do we put out of sight both the useful character of the various kinds of labor embodied in them and the concrete forms of that labor?

A. "Yes."

Q. Is there anything left but what is common to them all?

A. "No."

Q. To what are they all reduced?

A. "To one and the same sort of labor—human labor in the abstract."

[Note: In order to make this clear let me suppose that three circles represent the use-values of three different kinds of commodities, a watch, a pair of shoes and a coat, and that a black spot within each circle represents the labor embodied in them. It is plain

to see that regardless of their different use-values, that is to say, their different bodily forms, they all have the common property of being products of labor, i.e., of having human labor embodied in them.

Now if we abstract from the material elements and shapes that make them use-values, if their existence as material things is put out of sight, they are all reduced to that one common property of being products of human labor, each of the three black dots represents labor; but even the product of labor itself has undergone a change in our hands."

We see in them no longer a watch, a pair of shoes, a coat or any other useful thing, neither can they any longer be regarded as the product of the labor of the watchmaker, the shoemaker, the tailor or any other definite kind of productive labor; there is nothing left but what is common to them all; all are reduced to gold and the same sort of labor—human labor—in the abstract.

Let us now consider the residue of each of these products.]

Q. Does it consist of the same un-substantial reality in each?

A. "Yes."

Q. Of a mere conglomeration of homogeneous human labor, of labor-power expended without regard to the mode of its expenditure?

A. "Yes."

Q. All that these things now tell us is what?

A. "Yes."

Q. One use-value is just as good as another provided only it be present in sufficient quantity?

A. "Yes."

Q. One sort of wares are as good as another, if the values be equal?

A. "Yes."

Q. There is no difference or distinction in things of equal value?

A. "No."

Q. Is a hundred dollars' worth of lead or iron of as great value as a hundred dollars' worth of silver or gold?

A. "Certainly."

Q. As use-values commodities are above all—what?

A. "Of different qualities."

Q. As exchange values they are merely—what?

A. "Of different quantities."

Q. If we leave out of consideration the use-value of commodities, they have only one common property left—what is that common property?

A. "That of being products of human labor."

Q. If we make abstraction from the use-value of a product do we make abstraction at the same time from the material elements and shapes that make it?

A. "It is put out of sight."

Q. Can it any longer be regarded as the product of the labor of the joiner, the mason, the spinner, or of any other definite kind of productive labor?

A. "No."

Q. Do we see it any longer as a table, a house, a chair, or any other useful thing?

A. "No."

Q. What becomes of its existence as a material thing?

A. "It is put out of sight."

Q. Can it any longer be regarded as the product of the labor of the joiner, the mason, the spinner, or of any other definite kind of productive labor?

A. "No."

Q. Along with the useful qualities of the products themselves, do we put out of sight both the useful character of the various kinds of labor embodied in them and the concrete forms of that labor?

A. "Yes."

Q. Is there anything left but what is common to them all?

A. "No."

Call and Invitation

To the International Socialist and Working Class Organizations at Stuttgart in August, 1907.

International Socialist Bureau, People's Palace, Brussels, Nov. 10, 1906.
All Socialist Parties and Associations and All Working Class Organizations:

The next International Socialist and Labor Congress will be held at Stuttgart (Württemberg, Germany) from the 18th to the 24th of August, 1907.

The International Socialist Bureau, convened in 1906 with a view to carrying on the work of giving effect to the resolutions of International Congresses, in conformity with the decisions arrived at by the Congresses of London (1896) and of Paris (1900), invites to the Congress at Stuttgart:

1. All associations which adhere to the essential principles of Socialism; socialization of the means of production and distribution; international union and action of the workers; conquest of public powers by the proletariat, organized as a class party;

2. All the constituted organizations which accept the principle of a class struggle and recognize the necessity for political action (legislative and parliamentary) but do not participate directly in the political movement; International Congress held in Paris 1900.

Should your organization adhere to the above essential principles, the International Socialist Bureau requests you to put on the agenda of your next meeting the participation of your association in the Congress of Stuttgart and to decide at the same time, which questions, in your opinion, ought to be debated at that Congress.

Although unwilling to limit in any way your right of initiative, the Bureau in order to ensure the success of the Congress, hopes that questions already settled at previous Congresses will not be made the subject of debate at Stuttgart. In its sitting of 10th November, moreover, a provisional agenda was drawn up, covering the questions referred to the Congress of Stuttgart by previous Congresses, and questions deemed to be of vital importance today as well as matters of procedure of an urgent nature.

These questions are the following:

1. The approval of the resolutions of the International Socialist Bureau.
2. The regulations of the International Congresses and of the International Socialist Bureau; the statutes of the International Parliamentary Commission.
3. Militarism and International conflicts.

4. The intercourse between Socialist Labor parties and Trade Unions.

5. The colonial question.

6. The immigration and emigration of foreign laborers.

All organizations wishing to put other questions on the agenda are requested to send the text with explanatory report, together with the resolutions voted and conclusions arrived at to the Secretary's office of the International Socialist Bureau, before April 1st, 1907.

These documents will be published at the same time as the reports and resolutions bearing on the questions relating to the provisional agenda and forwarded, on or about May 1st, 1907, to all affiliated parties and organizations.

We beg, however, to remind the latter of the invitations repeatedly sent out by the I. S. B. printed in the periodical reports of the Secretary's office. We have finally decided upon the publication of the reports of the national secretaries on the activity of their parties and workmen's organizations since the Congress of Amsterdam 1904 up to January 1st, 1907, before the Congress of Stuttgart. These reports, intended to present to our comrades from all countries an objective and accurate statement of the Socialist and Labor movement, should reach the I. S. B. Secretary's office about February 1st, under no circumstances later than February 15th. As these documents must be published in three languages—in German, English and French—it is of the greatest importance that this ruling should be strictly observed.

With reference to the material organization of the Congress, we are pleased to inform you that, acting in concert with our German comrades, we have already taken the necessary steps to facilitate our work and ensure a pleasant visit to Stuttgart for all delegates. The Congress will meet in the Liederhalle, which gives ample accommodation for 1,000 delegates, as well as a number of committee rooms for the use of the various sections. The local Commission will publish a guide to the town and its environs; will appoint deputy commissioners to arrange for lodgings and to superintend entertainments; will organize specially qualified groups to direct foreign comrades and look after their comfort, and will place special accommodation at the disposal of the press, arranging also for a branch postoffice in the Congress Hall. In conjunction with the Secretariat of the I. S. B., the local Commission will establish a depot of Socialist newspaper and Socialist literature, and we appeal to all Socialist publishers and editors to make this a complete center of distribution for Socialist writings. Lastly, the Secretariat will publish in three languages—German, French and English—a short report of the meetings of committees as well as of the proceedings itself; so that all delegates may more conveniently and readily follow the doings of the entire Congress from day to day.

In order to facilitate preparatory work, we beg the delegates to give notice of their participation as soon as possible. They will receive the provisions cards, which, after verification of credentials, will be exchanged for delegate cards, at the price of 10 fr. 8m. 8s. each.

The address of the local Commission will be forwarded during the month of January, 1907.

We earnestly adjure all Socialist and Labor newspapers and reviews to advertise the present calling and give it all possible publicity. It is to be hoped that the Congress of Stuttgart will be worthy of the growing power of International socialism, we beg our dear com-

rades to receive our sincerest fraternal greetings.

The International Socialist Bureau:
Argentina: A. Cambler, M. Ugarte.
Australia: P. J. O'Meara.
Austria: Dr. V. Adler, F. Skaret.
Bolivia: A. Neme, F. Soucup.
Bulgaria: Y. Sakasoff, G. Krikow.
Denmark: P. Knudsen, C. M. Olsen.
Finland: Yrjo Syrola, E. Walpas.
France: J. Jaures, E. Vallant.
Great Britain: H. Hyndman, J. Keir Hardie.
Germany: A. Bebel, P. Singer.
Holland: P. Troelstra, H. Van Kol.
Hungary: J. Welter, Dr. A. Goldner.
Italy: E. Ferri, F. Turati.
Japan: S. Katayama.
Luxembourg: Dr. Wolter, J. P. Probst.
Norway: S. Garber, F. Wolf.
Poland: Dr. H. Diamond, R. Luxemburg.
Russia: G. Plechanoff, E. Roubaud.
Servia: M. Stoyanovich.
Spain: P. Iglesias, F. Mora.
Sweden: H. Branting, C. G. T. Wickman.
Switzerland: O. Rapin, J. Sigg.
United States: D. De Leon, M. Hillquit.

The Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau (Belgium): Edouard Anseel, Emile Vandervelde, Camille Huysmans, Secretary.

On Strikes

There may be occasions when a strike is unavoidable, or when the prospects for a successful issue are apparent. To such strikes this short article does not apply.

Fundamentally and theoretically the strike is wrong as a means of economic warfare, with due allowance for special cases as indicated above. The strike is wrong, because, when going on strike we divorce ourselves from the tool of production and in doing so divorce ourselves from our bread and butter. A strike is thus essentially a "hunger strike," and in dealing with modern highly organized capitalism is by its very nature limited in effectiveness.

The strikes of the past, excepting those instigated and manipulated by labor fakirs or competing capitalists, have been the more or less unconscious expression of a more or less spontaneous revolt, against economic oppression. We of the Industrial Workers of the World, claiming to have based our organization not only on its natural basis of material interest, but on a knowledge of social forces, should not allow ourselves to be mastered by unconscious instincts or spontaneous outbursts. Every one of ours should be a conscious and deliberate act, undertaken with full knowledge of all facts and possibilities involved. If struck we shall have, to inaugurate them and conduct them in a manner consistent with our sense of organization, and do not let us be led off our feet by the clamoring impatience of men who, acting on the spur of the moment, interpret an injury to one as an injury to all to mean that the whole organization's welfare should be jeopardized for the sake of one of its parts.

Strikes that are lost, and most of them are, are lost because there is no economic organization of sufficient strength behind them. Strikes that are won and few of them are, are won because there is an economic organization of sufficient strength behind them. In each case it is a question of building up the organization. What we want is an organization formidable enough in strength to dictate terms, without subjecting ourselves to the self-inflicted injury of starvation and misery, incidental to a cessation of work. What we want to do is to organize so that we can stay at work, on our own terms, whether the master wants it or not, and finally, so that we can declare a complete lockout of the capitalist class from the control of the tool of production.

This is a thing to be remembered by the membership of the I. W. W. We should not in the exuberance of our enthusiasm to give battle to the master class, blindly engage in any wildcat strikes, and send surprise telegrams to General Headquarters, say, "Strike on! Get funds!" The funds of the central body can be more profitably expended for organization purposes than for strike benefits. One thousand dollars spent for organizing may enable us to add thousands of men to our organization, while it will cost 100 men on strike only for a week or so, with chances 2 to 1 that nothing is gained by the strike.

The central body of the I. W. W. has only such scanty funds as are controlled by the membership, and is unequal to cope with a number of wildcat strike propositions, however anxious they may be to assist. Our strength does not lie in a treasury piled up for eventual strike benefits, but in expending every penny as soon as it comes in for organizing purposes. A reiteration of ill-advised strikes is sure to prove embarrassing to our central body, and any injury to that body is sure to be felt by the whole organization.

JOHN SANDGREEN.

Local Union No. 3, Louisville, Ky., a local union of the I. W. W., received notice from Sherman's "secretary" brought from New York to do the bidding of the reactionists—that it had been "expelled for non-payment of dues." The return of charter was also "requested." The reply of the local was that Sherman or his "secretary" should "come and get it."

I. W. W. meetings every Sunday except the 4th at Eagle Hall, corner Fifth avenue and Smithfield street, Pittsburgh, Pa., at 2:30 p. m. sharp. Good speakers at every meeting. Admission free.

The association of employers at Hamburg, Germany, have engaged strike breakers from England, to win the strike of long. Only those who agree to and nights are accepted. Breakers, it is reported, are sailors in the harbor to settle into communities of discontented workmen.

HIS HONOR, THE MAYOR OF ROSSLAND

By F. W. HENKWOOD

For the benefit of men who never followed the actions of the above named agent, and who are not good judges of a labor fakir when they see one, this exposure is especially dedicated. If the truth of any of the assertions contained herein are questioned, I hope they will take the pains to inquire for themselves.

I especially wish to deal with the gentleman from the time he was nominated in the Western Federation of Miners convention last year, in Denver, up to the present time. There will be need to delve farther back into his record, as a little of this is as good as a feast.

It is a fact that Peter McDonald was elected in Denver to attend the I. W. W. convention in Chicago, although it is known that he tricked Ryan of Jerome, Arizona, out of his votes. Peter voted for himself, while Ryan, true to his promise to Peter, did not vote; however, this amounts to very little, except for the fact had Ryan voted for himself, he would have been elected over Peter. It had never been known before his election as delegate how he stood on the principles and preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World, although we recognize now the great mistake that was made by the delegates, "of whom I was one myself," in not putting the candidates on record before they were elected. But Peter was elected and then the crash came when Kirwan asked for the delegates and alternates to be given five minutes each to find out how they stood on the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World. But five minutes were not enough for that great Spartus in the labor movement. He went to the front to make his little speech. He talked all around this question, which could be answered in five seconds as to whether he endorsed the preamble or not. He talked for 15 minutes, but no answer. He twisted and squirmed, grinned and laughed, but in answer to this brave fakir, the strongest against the master class. After 15 minutes, Melchior, the president of Phoenix Union, and Feltman, the president of Maywood Union, tried to get him to say "yes" or "no." But the wily Peter answered these brothers by saying, "these men are trying to put me on record and I will not answer." Nearly every man in the hall immediately saw that a disruption had been elected to go to Chicago to do something to educate the wage-class, but it was a case of locking the door after the horse had got away. The question came too late. It should have been put before the election, and if it had been done, neither Peter nor McMullen would ever have seen the Chicago convention, unless they went on their own hook.

Many of us did not have to wait for the Chicago convention to know what would happen. I told many men myself in the convention at Denver that these labor fakirs would cause trouble. Peter had the votes in his pocket of 25 per cent that a disruptionist had been elected to go to Chicago to do something to educate the wage-class, but it was a case of locking the door after the horse had got away. The question came too late. It should have been put before the election, and if it had been done, neither Peter nor McMullen would ever have seen the Chicago convention, unless they went on their own hook.

Many of us did not have to wait for the Chicago convention to know what would happen. I told many men myself in the convention at Denver that these labor fakirs would cause trouble. Peter had the votes in his pocket of 25 per cent that a disruptionist had been elected to go to Chicago to do something to educate the wage-class, but it was a case of locking the door after the horse had got away. The question came too late. It should have been put before the election, and if it had been done, neither Peter nor McMullen would ever have seen the Chicago convention, unless they went on their own hook.

Peter took the pledge of the Socialist party of Canada to work by vote and voice, in the interest of the revolutionary Socialist party of Canada. Now let us see how he worked. He immediately tried to work the league by advocating the running of an independent candidate instead of a straight Socialist, and at the same time that Peter was advocating it in the union and in the League. The War Eagle and Centre Star Company had the bosses out among the men in the mines advocating this independent candidate scheme. The Mining Company did not stop at this. One of the officials of the company met the secretary of the union on the train and tried to induce him to work for this independent scheme, but it wouldn't go. The men saw through the whole scheme in a minute. Peter wanted to run for M. P. in the interest of the capitalist class. The League was not to be hoodwinked now. The whole scheme was as easy to see through as a four-mesh screen—they would have nothing but a straight Socialist candidate. But Peter was not to be put out by this move, he decided to run for nomination. He did run, he got two votes, his own and the man whom he got to nominate him, Archie Berry, of the West Coast and of course a capitalist candidate. Then Peter started in to work by voice and vote to elect Berry to stay at home. His voice was not strong; it was run out in whispers behind telephone poles and any other old place where he could get a knock in, even when Berry was speaking in the hall against the agents of capitalism. McDonald was telling men who sat around him that Berry was a d—d fool and ought to sit down, although Berry was as good at speaking as any member of Roseland Union. This is how Peter used his voice, and so far as his voice is concerned, no one knows how he voted, except God himself.

After the nominations, when Peter saw he only got the two votes, he lost his temper. Another case of "whom the gods would destroy first make mad." He shook his fist at the president of the Miners' Union and declared that "you can run your Socialist, but I'll be in this contest and I'll have the goods to back me up." No one has ever denied that he got the goods. Berry's vote showed how Peter worked the voice, vote and gods racket, as he did not receive 90 votes in Roseland, and at the start everything looked as if he would be the victorious candidate.

The liberal leader of the opposition was elected, J. A. McDonald, a lawyer and attorney, for the LeROI Mining Company, to go around in note for eight days as a spokesman in the eight session on the grounds that he was the attorney for this company and could not do it. But Peter found his voice good and strong on the night of February 4th, the night that his namesake was elected, for he made a "fine speech" in the liberal committee rooms to a large audience. Berry lost his deposit of \$100, besides his time and much money of his. n. Thanks to this labor fakir, Peter, Archie Berry, the Socialist candidate, now being out of work, decided to do something before returning to the mines to work. He talked with Casey, the secretary of No. 38, of Roseland, and tried to induce him to cease organizing at Trail. This

there is a flourishing union at Trail.

But how did Peter stand on the position to organize a smelter where the worst conditions obtained of any smelter in British Columbia? Why, he objected to the move; of course, any one that heard him refuse to go on record in Deuer might know he would. He dickered, he fought, he did everything he could to stop the organization of the smelter, because he said Mr. Cronin, the manager of the company, "might not like it." These are the actual words that he used in a special meeting of over 200 men. Probably it would be better to have used a little more discretion and followed the advice of Manager Cronin. But they didn't use any more discretion. The Trail men had been outside of a union for over 10 years. They were organized July 11, 1906, without the assistance of this great labor "leader," who attended revolutionary conventions for the express purpose of obstructing the work of the working class.

The next time we find that the socialist is not sending delegates from Roseland Union, for the purpose of bursting up, or nipping in the bud, the first convention of the British Columbia labor party. This party, which was about to be formed, was a strategical move on the part of the capitalist class to break the Socialist party, but Peter did not want to break it up, although after he was defeated by a great majority in the union and the delegates were elected to go to Vancouver, Peter, to cover up his tracks, made the following statement:

"I knew it would be a fake party and was only a plot, but believed it would be better to let it go on and serve its purpose than die of itself."

Let us analyze this a little. He knew it was a fake, but before he would agree to send a delegate to help nip it in the bud, he would allow this capitalist scheme to be launched, and fool and hoodwink the working class for probably several years. The delegate did go, a trait J. W. W. man. The revolutionists had a large majority and the fake party was shot into oblivion and our brave Peter dropped about 20 per cent in the eyes of honest toilers.

But now comes the staggering blow of all, for in the same month of November that he opposed sending a Socialist to break this fake labor party, this brave hero joined the Socialist League of Roseland. He joined on November 25th and elections for the provincial house were to take place on February 4th, 1907. But you will ask why they took him in the League. Why, simply this, he was the mayor of the town. He was still not trying to organize the working class, but does his best, "in the interest of the War Eagle Centre Star Company and the capitalist class in general" to obstruct any other person from organizing them.

Now, fellow workers, this is not half of what can be told about this company lover. Even after he joined the Socialist League he said that any man who voted this ticket would be discharged by the LeROI and Centre Star companies. This of course, gave him a boost with the masters of Roseland, and I am sure that he will receive some small token of appreciation from them for the services rendered. If they do not appreciate all this good work they are certainly a cold-blooded bunch.

Compare this fellow's record with St. John's and Ryan's and ask yourself the question, what caused the trouble in the I. W. W. convention at Chicago?

Many of you who read this will be attending the next convention, and to know these things will not be amiss.

The Industrial Workers of the World continues to grow in the face of all obstructions and disruptionists of the Sherman-Mahoney slugging-gang type. Even his worship, the mayor of Roseland, cannot hurt us any. The new administration of the Industrial Workers have over 15 organizers in the field and have organized nearly 60 locals since the convention. Sherman has not organized a local and has not one organizer. Neither has he a following of 1,800 people and it might be well for the fellow workers everywhere to ask themselves the question: How is this slugging gang keeping their heads above water? Don't all guess at once. But we can deal with this gang of sluggers in another article. This one was for McDonald, and although I have not used everything against him, which would put black spots on his record, still enough has been said, and can be proved to show that he was not a fit representative to send to Chicago.

Care at least should be taken to have delegates go to a revolutionary convention, who believe in the class struggle, and there is just this one point to make, that had all the four delegates who represented the Western Federation of Miners been class-conscious and understood the difference between master and slave, the man who lives off wages and the man who lives off wages, then this trouble in Chicago would never have occurred. But on the contrary, it is utterly impossible to mix men who are in the interest of their masters with men who are in the interest of their own class, the wage-slave class.

A labor fakir is a greater enemy to the working class than James McParland, Gooding, Jim Farley or any other open enemy of our class. We at least know where these men are at. They are our enemies, but on the other hand, it takes years to discover the fakir in the union, and taking the actions of McDonald into serious consideration, I have no other place to put his worship, the mayor of Roseland, but in the ranks of the labor fakers.

A labor fakir is a greater enemy to the working class than James McParland, Gooding, Jim Farley or any other open enemy of our class. We at least know where these men are at. They are our enemies, but on the other hand, it takes years to discover the fakir in the union, and taking the actions of McDonald into serious consideration, I have no other place to put his worship, the mayor of Roseland, but in the ranks of the labor fakers.

Montpelier, Vt., with 6,000 population, holds more than \$6,000,000 of Kansas mortgages. This is an average of over \$1,000 for every man, woman and child in the town.

In 1672 a book was written which no doubt foreshadowed wireless telegraphy. It mentions the communication between two persons at different points by means of a lodestone and a needle placed on a metal dial.

The oldest secret trade processes now in existence are said to be the manufacture of Chinese red, or vermillion, and the method of infusing the hardest steel with gold and silver. They were both known to the Romans.

In 1890 Ebenezer Brown started in Troy, N. Y., the first collar and cuff factory on earth. Now in that city there are at least 17,000 persons who earn their living by making these things. That city manufactures about 90 per cent of the collars and cuffs in the country.

ORDER

THE

Stenographic
REPORT

(OFFICIAL)

OF THE

INDUSTRIAL UNION
CONVENTION of 1906

And get all the facts
and the truth of that
now memorable gath-
ering. Nothing omitted
and nothing gar-
bled. Buy it Now.

620 PAGES
PRICE \$1.00

CONTENTS:

Absentees and Proxies
Appropriation for Delegates
Arizona State Union
Auditing Committee's Report
Authorization of Strikes
Benefit Insurance
Building Trades' Industrial Union
Business Agents
Creditors Committee's Report
Constitution Committee
Organization Committee
Strikes and Grievances Committee
Literature and Education Committee
Ways and Means Committee
Reports of Officers
Sovereign Power of Convention
Debate on Officers' Reports
Dismissals of Funds
Dual Membership
Election of Chairman
Illinois Miners
Installation of Officers
Initiating a Referendum
Instructions to Organizers
Hirkpatrick Case
Local Executive Board
The Label
Actual Wage-Workers as Members
Minutes of General Executive Board
Metal and Machinery Department
Moyer-Haywood and the General Strike
Organization Fund
Organization in Convention
Political Endorsements
The Preamble
Representation of Locals
Resolutions
Status of C. O. Sherman
Structure of Organization
Terms of Salutation
Transportation Department
Western Federation of Miners

Industrial Union

HANDBOOK

Gives an outline of the

Structure of the Industrial

Union and Analysis

of the Preamble.

Very useful in arriv-

ing at an understand-

ing of the form of

organization of the

organization.

Industrial Workers of the World

Price, postpaid, 10 cts.

Special rates on large orders.

The Attention of Workingmen is Called to the

Daily People

ESTABLISHED 1890